

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 WARSAW 05732 01 OF 02 080843Z
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FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6032

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 5732

THREE COPIES ONLY FOR EUR/EE - ANDREWS FROM BRADSHAW

EO 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: OGEN
SUBJ: OFFICIAL-INFORMAL

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1. WE APPRECIATE THE TIME YOU TOOK TO ANALYSE REPORTING NEEDS FROM HERE AND APOLOGIZE FOR OUR DELAYED RESPONSE. WE HAVE BEEN THINKING. WE KNOW WE HAVE BEEN DEFICIENT, BUT WE THINK YOU MAY ASK TOO MUCH. AND OF COURSE WE WISH TO RESPONSE IN A POSITIVE VEIN. I'LL RETURN TO YOUR" ...LACK OF A FIRM SENSE OF DEVELOPMENTS AND EVEN TRENDS..." IN CONCLUDING REMARKS. OTHERWISE, FOR THE SAKE IF CLARITY, THE FOLLOWING NUMBERED PARAGRAPHS CORRESPOND TO YOURS.

2. HUMAN RIGHTS. OUR CONTACTS ARE PRETTY GOOD, AND WE HAVE REPORTED MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS AS THEY HAVE OCCURRED. WE COULD EXTEND OUR CONTACTS, SEEING PEOPLE LIKE KURON AND MICHNIK AS OFTEN AS WE WISH FOR INSTANCE, AND AS A RESULT GETTING MORE SCUTTLEBUTT FOR WASHINGTON'S "INSATIABLE APPETITE." WE DOUBT THE WISDOM OF SUCH A SHIFT IN TERMS OF THE PERCEPTIONS OF THE REGIME AS WELL AS THAT OF THE DISSIDENTS. WE ALSO DOUBT THAT THE INCREASED VOLUME OF TRAFFIC WOULD BE OF ANY REAL VALUE.

AS FOR THE ASSOCIATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION WITH POLAND'S DEBT PROBLEM, THE AMBASSADOR REMARKS, " I AM MORE SURE OF A 'LINKER' THAN SOME. I DO NOT SEE MUCH TO BE GAINED,
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THOUGH IN WAHT MIGHT BE TERMED EX POST FACTO LINKAGE. THE GERMANS MADE A MISTAKE IN THIS RESPECT IN A SOMEWHAT ANALOGOUS SITUATION IN AGREEING, UNDER THE POLISH-FRG SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT, TO A DATE FOR THE FINAL DRAWDOWN OF CREDITS BEFORE ALL THE ETHNIC GERMANS WISHING TO LEAVE POLAND WERE LET OUT. (ON THIS POINT, I SUGGEST THAT IN VIEW OF THE FORMER LINKAGE BETWEEN CREDITS AND BODIES, THE REPORTED FRG SUPPORT FOR A

PRIVATE BLANACE OF PAYMENTS LOAN TO POLAND MAY INCLUDE A LINK WITH BONN'S INTEREST IN TRYING TO EXPEDITE THE DEPARTURE OF THE REMAINING GERMANS WHO WANT TO LEAVE.) IF WE ARE GOING TO APPLY SIMILAR LEVERAGE (IN OUR CASE, GRAIN CREDITS WEIGHED AGAINST FORTHCOMINGNESS ON DIVIDED FAMILIES) WE SHOULD DELAY GRANTING FURTHER CREDITS BEFORE THERE IS, AT A MINIMUM, SUBSTANTIAL POLISH MOVEMENT -- AS WE WOULD DEFINE 'SUBSTANTIAL' -- TO MEET OUR DIVIDED FAMILIES REQUIREMENTS."

3. NSC STUDY. "AN EXCELLENT IDEA." WE WILL BE PLEASED TO DO AS MUCH AS WE CANT TO HELP. WE'LL KEEP IT IN MIND AS WE SET OUR OWN REPORTING PRIORITIES. WE WILL RESPOND TO SPECIFIC REQUESTS AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

4. COVERING THE OPPOSITION MOVEMENT. OUR REACTION IS SIMILAR TO THAT OF PREVIOUS PARAGRAPH 2, ALTHOUGH HERE, UNLIKE ABOVE, WE DIFFER WITH YOU, AT LEAST IN PART. ARE OUR INTERESTS REALLY SERVED BY REPORTING EVERY ITEM THAT MIGHT HAVE APPEARED ON THE EUROPEAN UPI OR REUTERS FILE? OBVIOUSLY, KOR AND ROPCO ARE TRYING TO USE THE PRESS TO ADVANCE THEIR CAUSE AND RFE HAS BEEN A USEFUL ACCESSORY TO THEIR EFFORTS, PARTICULARLY KOR'S. IT IS APPROPRIATE TO REMEMBER THE COMPLAINTS OF TWO WESTERN CORRESPONDENTS, REPORTED IN DICK VIRDEN'S MEMCON OF MAY 11, NAMELY THAT HEIR EDITORS HAD INSTRUCTED THEM TO CONCENTRATE ON DISSIDENT AFFAIRS AND REPORT ABOUT THEM MORE THAN THEY CONFIDENTIAL

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THOUGHT WARRANTED BY EVENTS. WHY? BECAUSE RFE, AS A SUBSCRIBER TO BOTH WIRE SERVICES, IS ENTITLED TO LEVY SUCH DEMANDS AND HAD DONE SO.

5. POLISH LANGUAGE CAPABILITY. WE HAVE A CORRESPONDING PROBLEM, NAMELY FINDING THE TIME TO PERMIT OUR OFFICERS WITH LANGUAGE CAPABILITY TO DO WHAT IS REQUIRED TO IMPROVE OUR REPORTING.

6. GUIDANCE. WE CAN THINK OF NO SUBJECTS ABOUT WHICH MORE GUIDANCE FROM YOU WOULD HAVE ENABLED US TO DO A BETTER JOB OF REPORTING DEVELOPMENTS WE KNOW ABOUT.

7. QUICK RESPONSES. WE APPRECIATE YOUR PRAISE, EVEN AS WE ARE SIMLUTANEOUSLY EMBARRASSED, FOR I AM SURE THAT IN SOME INSTANCES WE SHOULD HAVE REPORTED BEFORE YOU ASKED.

8. CONTACT WITH WESTERN NEWSMEN. POINT TAKEN, BUT NOTE OUR CAVEAT IN 4 ABOVE.

9. VISITORS. AGREED. WE HAVE FOUND REPORTS OF YOUR CONVERSATIONS VERY INTERESTING. MOREOVER, THE VISITORS IN VIRTUALLY

EVERY INSTANCE HAVE LET US KNOW HOW MUCH THEY APPRECIATE THE ATTENTION OF LUERS, SCANLAN, AND YOURSELF. OFTEN SUCH PEOPLE SEEM TO TALK WITH LESS RESTRAINT ABOUT TOUCHY MATTERS WHEN THEY ARE OUTSIDE POLAND. IT'S QUITE POSSIBLE, AS YOUR SUGGEST, THAT EMBASSIES LONDON AND PARIS COULD ADD TO THE TOTAL INFORMATION STOVK VIA EMIGRES IN THOSE CITIES, AND WE WOULD WELCOME WHATEVER THEY MIGHT PROVIDE. HOWEVER, IF ANY SUCH EFFORT IS TO BE UNDERTAKEN, WE THINK ALL CONCERNED SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THE INDICATION WE HAD RECENTLY THAT THE SB HAS PERVASIVELY INFILTRATED POLISH EMIGRE CIRCLES IN WESTERN EUROPE (SEE GOSDENDE MEMCON, JUNE 1, 1978).

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 5732

THREE COPIES ONLY FOR EUR/EE - ANDREWS FROM BRADSHAW

10. VISITORS TO POLAND. YOU HAVE SEEN OUR POLITE LITTLE BUREAU-CRATIC CABLE AND MY BLUNTER LETTER TO JACK SEYMOUR. WHATEVER YOU CAN DO WILL BE APPRECIATED.

11. OTHER TASKING. WE UNDERSTAND THE PRESSURES UPON YOU AND STAND READY TO DO WHAT IS TO BE DONE, BUT OBVIOUSLY WE WILL APPRECIATE WHATEVER RESTRAINT YOU CAN EXERCISE.

12. SPECIFIC REPORTING NEEDS. GOOD.

13. DOING THINGS DIFFERENTLY TO PROVIDE MORE USEFUL REPTRTING. WE'LL DO WHAT WE CAN. SOME IDEAS LOOK BETTER AT FIRST BLUSH, HOWEVER, THATN WHEN WE TRY TO PUT THEM INTO EFFECT. TAKE YOURS ABOUT POZORSKI AND OPINIA, FOR INSTANCE. MORE OFTEN THAN NOT, THE TRANSLATION AND REVIEW PROCESS IS THE ONLY WAY WE CAN GET THE BULK OF THE MATERIAL TO YOU, INASMUCH AS THE GIVEN UNDERGROUND PUBLICATION IS MADE AVAILABLE TO US ONLY FOR A SHORT-TERM LOAN. WE COULD SEND A TELEGRAM SUMMARY, AS IN WARSAW 4663, BUT TRANSLATION, ANALYSIS,

AND EVALUATION HAVE TO COME FIRST, AND THAT IS THE MOST TIME CONSUMING PART OF THE WHOLE CHORE.

14,15. RUMOR, SPECULATION, AND GOSSIP. WE'LL SEND WHATEVER DISSIDENT DOCUMENTS WE OBTAIN FOR RETENTION. WE MAY ASK THAT YOU RETURN A COPY ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT YOUR DUPLICATING FACILITY-
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TIES ARE BETTER THAN OUCI. WE'LL REPORT ANY RUMORS WE THINK WORTH YOUR TIME. AS FOR THOSE YOU HEAR THAT HAVE NOT BEEN REPORTED BY US AND ARE CURIOUS ABOUT, LET US KNOW, AND WE'LL GIVE YOU OUR VIEWS ASAP. WE ARE A BIT HESITANT ABOUT SIMPLY REPLAYING TO WASHINGTON WITHOUT EVALUATION, ESPECIALLY IN A FORMAL CABLE, ALL THE RUMORS THAT COME OUR WAY. KNOWING, HOWEVER, THAT YOU THINK WE HAVE ERRED ON THE CONSERVATIVE SIDE, WE'LL DO AS MUCH AS WE CAN TO AUGMENT THE FLOW.

16. LET ME SUMMARIZE OUR REACTIONS TO YOUR NEED FOR INCREASED POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REPORTING BY QUOTING THE AMBASSADOR WHO HAS CLOSELY MONITORED OUR CONSIDERATION OF YOUR CABLE:

-I HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY PREOCCUPIED WITH THE REPORTING QUESTION, WITH WAYS TO ASSURE THAT ALL NECESSARY AND AVAILABLE INFORMATION IS ACQUIRED AND FED INTO THE INSATIABLE USG DIGESTIVE APPARATUS AND WITH THE NEED FOR PERCEPTIVE ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION LEYED TO OUR POLICIES AND PROGRAMS. I AM NOT SATISFIED WITH THE REPORTING FROM THIS POST.

RECENTLY THE SECRETARY REITERATED (STATE 091048 - ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NOT RECEIVED THE LISTS MENTIONED IN PARA 2) THE PRIORITY FOR ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION. STRIKING THE NECESSARY BALANCE BETWEEN ANALYTICAL AND STRAIGHT REPORTING OF INFORMATION HAS NEVER PROVED EASY.

FACTORS COMPLICATING OUR TASKS HERE INCLUDE:

A. THE SUBSTANTIVE SECTIONS ARE STRETCHED ABOUT AS TIGHTLY AS ANY I HAVE SEEN IN MY EXPERIENCE.

B. THE VERY FACT THAT, UNLIKE OUR COLLEAGUES IN MOST OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, WE HAVE A HIGH DEGREE OF OFFICIAL AND NON-OFFICIAL ACCESS, AS REWARDING AND VALUABLE AS IT IS, ALSO MAKES OUR JOB MORE COMPLICATED AND TIME-CONSUMING THAN PUTTING
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PRIMARY EMPHASIS ON THE MEDIA.

C. AS REFTEL INDICATES, THE DEPARTMENT ITSELF HAS A POLISH-LANGUAGE GAP WHICH PLACES MORE RESPONSIBILITY

ON US FOR TIME-CONSUMING TRANSLATION WORK.

D. WE HAVE RECENTLY MADE A PLEA FOR MORE INTELLIGENCE MATERIAL FROM SOURCES OUTSIDE OF POLAND, WHICH, IF THE NEW SYSTEM WORKS, WILL GIVE US ACCESS TO DATA NOW EVIDENTLY AVAILABLE TO WASHINGTON END-USERS AND ENABLE US TO ASSESS THEIR VALIDITY.

E. WE DO NOT RECEIVE ADEQUATE INFORMATION FROM OUTSIDE POLAND ON SOME DEVELOPMENTS WHICH HAVE IMPORTANT IMPACT ON POLISH CONSIDERATION OF RELATIONS WITH US. FOR INSTANCE, DOBROSIELSKI TOLD US OF A COMMUNICATION TO MEMBERS OF THE US CONGRESS EMANATING FROM THE TORONTO CONFERENCE. OTHER THAN THE ZABLOCKI SPEECH AND SOME INFORMATION ON ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS WE HAVE RECEIVED NO FURTHER INFORMATION. NOR DID WE GET TEXTS OR SUMMARIES OF MRS. CARTER' AND MAZEWSKI'S REMARKS AT THE MAY 3 CONSTITUTION EVENT IN CHICAGO. NEVERTHELESS, I AGREE THAT WE CAN DO A BETTER JOB. WE ARE EXAMINING ORGANIZATION AND METHODS OF BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SECTIONS TO BEEF UP COVERAGE AND ANALYSIS. P&C MUST GIVE PRIORITY TO ITS MAJOR OBJECTIVES, BUT IT REMAINS A KEY SOURCE OF INFORMATION WHICH WE WILL CONTINUE TO USE. WE WILL CONTINUE TO URGE THE CONSULATE TO INCREASE THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS SOME OF WHICH RECENTLY HAVE BEEN EXCELLENT.

SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES RAISED IN YOUR TELEGRAM (PARA 2):

WITH REGARD TO LACK OF A FIRM SENSE OF DEVELOPMENTS AND EVEN TRENDS", I SUGGEST THAT DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND ARE VERY LIKELY TO COME PIECEMEAL AND NOT AS PART OF SOME GRAND DESIGN. A CURRENT EXAMPLE IS THE SECTIVE RISE IN MEAT PRICES, UNANNOUNCED PUBLICLY AND APPLICABLE ONLY TO CERTAIN CUTS IN CERTAIN STORES.. THIS OBJECTIVE

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VIOUSLY IS SIGNIFICANT AND WE WILL PUT IT TOGETHER IN A COHERENT FASHION AS SUCH THINGS APPEAR TO CONSTITUTE A TRENDING EVENT THOUGH THEY ARE DONE PIECEMEAL.

I THINK THERE MAY BE A TENDENCY TO OVERESTIMATE POLISH DISSENT AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE OVERALL SCENE HERE WHICH OBVIOUSLY ARE OF SPECIAL JOURNALISTIC INTEREST. AS LONG AS SUCH ACTIVITY IS LARGELY CONFINED TO INTELLECTUAL CIRCLES AND NO EVENTS OCCUR WHICH HEAT UP THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS, THIS WILL BE A NAGGING PROBLEM FOR THE REGIME BUT NOT A PRESSING ONE, ESPECIALLY IN COMPARISON WITH POLAND'S ECONOMIC TROUBLES. WE CAN IMPROVE SOMEWHAT BY INCREASING CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE CONSULATES; WHAT WE GET IS GOOD, BUT OFTEN THERE ISN'T ENOUGH."

SCHAUFEL

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